

LOW-INCOME INNER-CITY HOUSING AS AN OPTION IN THE HOUSING DELIVERY PROCESS: A CASE STUDY OF THE ALBERT PARK AND POINT ROAD AREAS

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my son Likho, and to my family for their support throughout my academic endeavors.

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CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter one contains a detail of the problems this study is seeking to address. The background to the research problem will also be dealt with, in terms of how historical events shaped the prevailing scenario (i.e. the lack of low-income, inner-city housing in South African cities). As the case study will be that of Durban, the historical background of migration and residential location of migrants will be revisited. The Chapter also contains a formulation of the study's hypothesis.

Chapter two provides a review of literature material relevant to the study. This literature review deals with how the African colonial city and the Apartheid city came into being. Furthermore, experiences of various countries in relation to the provision of inner-city housing stock for the poor and a broader perspective of low-cost, inner-city housing advantages and disadvantages (i.e. to both the beneficiaries and the city environment) will be drawn from international literature. This among other things will serve to strengthen the argument for a vibrant city environment through densification.

Chapter three will focus on the case study area including the methodology employed in the research process. The usefulness of the questionnaire design and format, and the relevance of the sampling method used will be discussed.

Chapter four will deal with an analysis of the data obtained with focus on the communities already residing within the city. The findings of the interviews conducted will be used for the above mentioned purpose

Chapter five will consist of a critique of the study. Secondly, recommendations that are pertinent to a successful and sustainable provision of inner-city housing for the low-income group will be made.

CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1 Background to the Problem

International experience with regard to migration is such that in places like Asia, Latin America, Africa, and in various other parts of the world, economic growth led to people migrating to cities. It's mostly because people perceived the city to be offering better opportunities and a better lifestyle than rural areas. P Ward supports the view that new industrial enterprises became the main stimulants of rapid urbanization (Ward, 1986). In most of these developing countries migration into cities was accompanied by an acute shortage of housing. This led to the eruption of shack settlements which exposed people to social problems like congestion, diseases and crime.

During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was acceleration in the urbanization process and this affected mostly western Europe, and the U.S. at some later stage. The expansion of these newly industrialized cities is said to have been caused by their power to attract rural migrants (Dwyer, 1975). Dwyer also noted that urban populations in developing countries were growing twice as fast as those in already industrialized countries. He argues that in 1975 Latin America was the most highly urbanized region of the third world (Dwyer, 1975)

Growth in the mining and Industrial sector in South Africa was the major cause of the huge influx of people into cities. Prior to the formation of the Union government in 1910, certain areas were set aside as reserves for occupation by the African population (Mabin, 1992). The growing population in the reserves and the declining fertility of the land exerted pressure on the inhabitants to migrate to urban areas (Dewar, Todes and Watson, 1982). Urban areas not only attracted people because of the employment opportunities they could offer, but also because of the wide range of other social facilities and services that people could have access to (Mabin, 1989). This shows that the perception that in cities one's quality of life improves is a belief which applied to South African city migrants as well.

In the first quarter of the century, restrictive covenants were used to keep blacks away from places considered to be white residential areas (Slums Act and Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923). This was also accompanied by the expulsion of the very same black people from inner-city neighborhoods to the urban periphery. There wasn't much vigor in the application of the urban areas act until the coming into power of the National Party in 1948 (Smit, 1989).

The coming into power of the National Party In 1948 in South Africa led to the passing of legislation with the aim of regulating the inflow of Africans into cities. The newly urbanized African population tended to settle in areas close to work opportunities but on less desirable land, where there was little pressure on them to move. Despite that, the state succumbed to pressure by white residents for some greater degree of segregation and evicted people from these areas (Dewar, Rosmarin and Watson, 1991). Pass laws

were enacted and the police force was strengthened to ensure their effective application. Influx control is one of the measures which were used to curb the inflow of migrants into the South African city. The spatial engineering which occurred during the 50's and 60's was influenced by the rapid flow of blacks from rural areas into cities during the second world war. This led to the agricultural union's appeal to government for the tightening of influx control measures and for the introduction of labour bureaux to ensure the implementation of these control measures (Smit, 1989).

As a result the newly migrated landless population was channeled back to the reserves (Mabin, 1992). Another repressive policy that hindered the occurrence of a natural urbanization process in South Africa was that of an annual contracts system. As a consequence to this system, black people were forcefully relocated back to their various homelands if their annual working contracts were not renewed.

The Group Areas Act (1950) was passed during this period and it advocated residential segregation in terms of which different race groups could not reside in the same area. The act also imposed a system whereby "uniform controls upon all sales of land between races and on interracial changes in occupation" occurred (Smit, 1989). It is argued that to a greater or lesser degree, ethnic residential separation occurs voluntarily in cosmopolitan cities everywhere. The difference with the South African situation is, as has been indicated, that the urbanisation process was put to an end by the introduction of the Group Areas Act (Mandy, 1984). Mandy (1984) further argues that this act not only caused hardship and bitterness on its victims, but also worsened the housing shortage, impeded the working of the free market system and

created an expensive bureaucracy. The majority of Africans, Indians and Coloureds are, as a result, still situated far away from the inner city, and mostly due to the Group Areas Act. It can't be disputed therefore that this legally enforced separation distorted natural planning and development procedures.

The accompanying removals were not only a setback financially, but also were an affront on human dignity. These removals occurred at great human suffering as many of these people had already settled in areas near sources of employment. The places on which the dislocated people were resettled were, more often than not, desolate bare veld or stuck away behind a hill and a long distance from the centre of a town or city (Mandy, 1984). The new areas also lacked facilities such as community halls, post offices, libraries, and public telephones to count just but a few.

From the late 1960's and onwards the state neglected to build houses in sufficient numbers to meet the housing needs emanating from the continuously migrating people and from overcrowded townships. Even the houses that were subsequently built in Bantustans could not compensate for the housing shortage in urban townships of South African cities. the construction of houses in the home lands and the lack of housing in the South African cities did not stop people from moving to urban areas. The state's refusal to build houses in sufficient numbers forced people to provide shelter for themselves (Mabin, 1989).

It is due to the above mentioned neglect that informal settlements erupted in city outskirts all over the country. One of the major causes of squatting is the unavailability of land in

legally designated housing areas. The second one is the desire on the part of the squatters to be located closer to places of work (Smith, 1992). The influx of poor and unskilled people into cities also led to overcrowding and lowered standards, in terms of urban transportation, water supply, sewerage and refuse removal, public health, and land use planning. The two major categories of squatters that existed at the time were the families who resorted to squatting because of housing shortage, resulting from an increasing urban population. This included children who on reaching adulthood were unable to get housing for their newly formed families. The second category was that of migrant labourers who left the predominantly single-sex hostels and settled in squatter areas so they could live with their families (Mabin, 1989). Shacks were also (...and still are..) an important source of accommodation for job seekers and those who were already employed.

Due to its not having received sufficient attention from the previous (national party) government, the housing backlog was not adequately addressed until the new democratic government got into power (1994). The reality that people exist with nowadays is that due to the huge costs that accompany housing construction, low-income earners cannot afford adequate housing. This is regardless of whether one buys, rents or builds housing for himself. The previous government failed to address the housing needs that accompanied rapid migration to South African cities.

Discriminatory policies on the other hand resulted in the location of low-income groups in the periphery and away from opportunities the city offers. Accommodating the process of urbanisation or in-migration is a challenge in any country, particularly so in South Africa with its history of racial prejudice and apartheid policy. Presently

the challenge to house the urban poor is big. More so in view of the past experience which led to major backlogs in the provision of urban housing (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994).

It was the lack of responsible management which exacerbated the housing problem. A more positive attitude on the part of urban management would have done more in improving the present situation of unacceptable living conditions in townships and informal settlements. A conclusion that can be reached from the above is that migration controls and close-city policies are non viable planning strategies.

1.2 Situation in the City of Durban

Byerley and Kabi (1995) noted that 40-50% of the African population within the Durban Functional Area (then estimated at 2,5 million) has no formal housing. This is said to translate into a need for between 250 000 and 320 000 housing units. Durban is one the metropolitan areas in South Africa in which some portion of urban land was owned by the church. This land provided a place where the newly migrated people could settle without fear of eviction. Due to the fact that Durban was in the past surrounded by a "homeland" (i.e the former Kwazulu government), migrants acquired a "legitimate" base on which they could built informal settlements. Their occupation of these informal settlements enabled them to access Durban's urban economy. Like in other inner-city areas in South Africa, only whites in the former regime could own or occupy housing in the Durban inner-city. It was not until fairly recently that other race groups could even reside in the inner-city.

N.B * It is said that although the Group Areas Act led to large scale segregation in the "apartheid city", indices computed for the city of Durban in the early 50's And early 70's suggest that the act had minimal effect because levels of segregation were already high (Smit, 1989). A set of criteria was specified by the Group Areas Act (1950) for the sole purpose of a complete separation of races. A housing survey done in Durban (1952) summarised it as follows; (1) All race groups were required to have their own consolidated residential areas and these areas had to be located such that they could allow for "continuous and incremental expansion". (2) Strong physical "buffers" such as rivers and ridges or commercial and industrial areas were to be used to separate these areas, In the absence of which open spaces or "buffer zones" were to be left between group areas. Whilst racial mixing within work areas was allowed, traversing of one group's area by another in moving to and from work was forbidden (Smit 1989).

In all its housing initiatives the previous government never focused on large scale inner-city housing provision that could counter act the urbanization rate.

Housing policy makers of the old order never had regard to the social and economic processes that were at play amongst the newly urbanized migrants. They were more concerned with restricting the migrant's access to urban housing and other related opportunities (Dewar, Rosmarin and Watson, 1991). Planners always adopted the single-house single-plot approach which was more oriented to up-market expansion and intensification than with providing housing that addressed the needs of the mainly poor black masses.

As has already been shown South Africa's urbanization process does not have distinct features from that which occurred in other industrialized cities around the world. Amongst the urbanization features South Africa shares with other third world countries is that of the poor living in the urban edge and away from opportunities available in the city core. The urban management that used to be in charge of planning in South Africa, failed to come into terms with the reality that the urbanization process is bound to occur wherever there is centralised economic development. A popular view about urbanisation is that, whether urbanisation is positive developmentally, or whether it creates appalling conditions depends almost entirely on how it is managed.

The problem that the study will seek to address is the housing demand that exists among low-income groups that reside in urban areas. There is a widely accepted perception that good housing has a sociological importance in the sense that a good home environment can have a profound effect in the physical and psychological well being of a household (Balchin, 1979). If everyone is to be regarded as having a right to adequate housing within his capacity to pay, then this could only be achieved through government assistance in housing development implementation.

The dissertation will focus on the provision of inner-city housing as a means through which the backlog that exists in housing can be addressed. In recognition of the various opportunities and advantages that inner-city housing would present, the study will also explore the question of a joint venture between government and the private sector in terms of how the two can make inner-city housing accessible to low-income groups.

1.3 Formulation of Hypothesis

1.3.1 Research Question

How can inner-city housing contribute toward addressing the housing needs of the marginalised income groups?

1.3.1.1 Subsidiary Questions

(i) What are the housing needs of the disadvantaged communities?

(ii) What is government policy towards inner-city housing provision?

(iii) How is inner-city housing a viable option?

(iv) Who would be the players in this scheme, and what roles would the different players assume?

1.3.2 Hypothesis

Inner-city housing is one of the options which should be pursued in the delivery of adequate housing to the low-income groups in urban areas.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The proposed inner-city densification should be perceived as a means through which some of the imbalances caused by the apartheid system in South Africa could be redressed. This study proposes an inner-city housing urban planning strategy for the benefit of low-income earners. Benefits to both the city environment and the community for which it is intended will be studied. In trying to establish whether this strategy is viable or not, some of the following issues will be taken into account;

- (i) The encouragement of mixed land uses,
- (ii) Adoption of more flexible zoning practices,
- (iii) The provision of appropriate community facilities, and
- (iv) Adoption of a policy of inner-city residential densification.

The following literature review will try to discover whether or not low-cost, inner-city housing would make the inner-city more attractive, productive and vibrant, and together with how it can improve the living standards of the poor. This review will particularly focus on the creation of a more accommodating environment to the expected influx of residents into the city.

2.1.1 The African / Colonial City

Colonial societies, especially colonial cities, are heterogenous and based on domination. Of significance to this is that the above affects their location, structure and social relations.

Early towns in Africa were, according to M. Peil (1983), based on commerce, and later ones on administration. Most towns built between 1850 and 1950 can be classified as colonial towns and these are said to have been built to the needs of expatriate metropolitan powers. African cities were mainly places where European and Asians could carry out administration and commercial activities. Africans were taken as belonging to the country side and whilst they could visit the cities, they were not allowed to stay. It was thought best that they be influenced as little as possible by "urban ways" (Peil, 1983).

Despite the fact that new towns built after this period were initiated to serve needs of independent governments, European models of planning strongly influenced their planning. Amenities whose availability is taken for granted in most cities around the world are still limited in African cities. These are; roads, electricity, public water supply, transport, health services, and refuse collection (Peil, 1983).

A large majority of the population in African cities lives on low-quality housing much of which is peripheral squatter settlements. This together with the above shows the planning values (..or lack of...) that were at play during the creation of the African city,

and the blatant disregard for the social and economical well being of the African population.

2.1.2 The Apartheid City

All South African cities are characterised by an explosive low-density sprawl the direction of which is non managed. Historically, the urban management in South Africa had entrenched anti-city values of suburbia which promoted the single storey house on a large plot as the idea of a "good" urban living environment. The market concentration through which vibrant local economies could be created is lacking (Smith, 1992).

2.1.3 City Periphery Residential Location and its Implications on the Poor.

As already been indicated above, the previous national party government never had regard to the social and economic processes that were at work amongst the newly urbanized migrants, but were more concerned with restricting their access to urban housing. One of the disadvantages of peripheral location is that it leads to formless cities and increases in the cost of providing public services (Ngwadla, 1994).

The majority of South African industrial and commercial centres are concentrated within the inner-city areas. These are the major employment sources for the majority of the country's labour force. Since the majority of low-income households reside in the periphery, the inner-city is not easily accessible to them and as a result the job

opportunities that the city offers are difficult to access on the part of communities located in the outlying areas. The dispersed urban growth characteristic of South African cities causes a lot of inconvenience to the low-income groups, in terms of the unreasonable time and money that one spends on traveling to and from the city.

With regard to the same subject, Dewar and Uytenbogaardt state that historically, the urban management in South Africa concerned itself more with increasing mobility (i.e. there has been more emphasis on free and rapid flow of private vehicles). This only served to worsen an urban system which was already bad enough (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1991). It is said that according to international standards, a person should not spend more than 5% of one's income on traveling costs to a place of work. People residing in the urban fringes (in South Africa) pay far more than 5% of their salaries towards traveling cost to the various places of employment within the country.

The long distances that workers travel to workplaces cause tiredness and lateness and this impacts negatively on the country's economic productivity. This has the effect of increasing production costs on one hand and of decreasing the buying power of consumers on the other hand. It is further argued that the low-density development that occurs in the city outskirts leads to a situation where cars and taxis become the main means of commuting since the number of residents of a particular area may not justify provision of a more efficient public transport service (indicator vol 9, 1992). Therefore the time that low-income groups spend on traveling could be used for more productive activities, including the generation of more income. The further away from the city one is situated, the more one spends in terms of traveling costs.

In South Africa and in other parts of the world which adopted a similar urban planning method the government incurs huge costs through the system of subsidizing transport or making available public transport. If an effort could be made in trying to avoid the spending unreasonable money on transport both people and government would be able to invest it for some other use.

2.2 Inner City Housing Development and the Potential Benefits it can bring the beneficiaries

2.2.1 Implications of a Compact/Integrated Urban system

There is a real need to increase accessibility in South African cities and this can be done by reducing the need to travel. It is argued that this can be achieved by bringing about a more compact, integrated and diverse land use pattern. In a compact system there is a wide range of services available. This system is more advantageous because there is easy access to these commercial or social services (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1991). The prevailing scenario in South Africa is that communities living in the urban fringes are under-served in terms of health, education, safety and various other activities. Where these facilities are available one finds that they are of low quality and are inefficient.

With regard to the development that is occurring in the city periphery, more often than not new sewerage treatment works or very long pipes and cables

are needed so as link these to the existing service production points (Indicator, vol.9 p52). Planners in the Durban Functional Region (DFR) have put more emphasis on Greenfield development in the urban fringes. A view expressed by DFR development committee is that attention should have instead been on maximisation of opportunities that the city offers rather than concentrating only on Greenfield development that only serves to reinforce inefficiencies brought about by urban sprawl (DFR Interim Development Committee, 1991).

The above argument strengthens the notion that there are countless advantages in implementing development within the city rather than in the periphery. This view therefore does not favour the "single-house, single, single-plot' development projects that occur in outlying areas, where such developments can be avoided. Needless to say, providing new infrastructure means more costs are incurred than if the development were to be implemented within the city. Advantages with inner-city development are that the city has a readily available infrastructure, in terms of a waterborne sewerage system, storm water drainage control system, electricity cables etc. Therefore less expenditure is incurred on infrastructure with regard to development in the inner area of a city.

Thus living in the inner-city would make these facilities easily accessible to low-income people. An integrated urban system creates more opportunities to which people can respond because of its being highly generative. Here people are exposed to a wide range of facilities, services and activities (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1991). One can therefore argue that an integrated system is more efficient in that it enables

people to make better use of available infrastructure. The excellent location that the inner-city provides, in terms of which one can also access transport facilities and various other activities metropolitan area offers, would be very attractive to those wishing to escape the isolated, sterile and very under serviced township, rural and shack settlements.

2.2.2 The Need for an Efficient Transport System

Its more easy to initiate viable means of transport in a more compact urban system of planning than it is in defuse, sprawling systems. Dewar and Uytenbogaardt (1991) argue that where there is sprawling people (particularly poor people) find it hard to access fixed line transport systems.

As has already been proposed, location in the inner-city would reduce the distance to workplaces. Furthermore, being situated close to places of employment would mean that one has more chances of being employed than a person who lives on the city outskirts. Grimes (1943) supports the view that the location of dwellings closer to workplaces can reduce traffic congestion and enable households to spend less money on transport. He further points out that investment in the drawing of labour to industrial or commercial areas increases productivity. Residing in inner-city housing would mean less time spent on commuting to employment and consumption opportunities and this on the other hand would enable one to engage on other activities including spending more time with family. The above mentioned negative implications that traveling has on productivity could be reduced if the labour force were to be located within the city.

2.2.3 Economic Growth in a Compact City

Another view expressed is that there has always been an existing need that the inner-city area of Durban be more integrated so as to be representative of the different racial groups in the country, and be more efficient in terms of the maximum use of the services and facilities it offers. The view goes on to suggesting that the inner-city provides a suitable area for the development of low-income housing to cater for people currently working in the inner area of the city (DFR Interim Development Committee, 1991). It can be further argued that inner-city housing development would also provide opportunities for the emergence of small informal businesses. The poor could benefit from among the more wealthy, who automatically have a superior purchasing power.

Dewar and Uytenbogaardt (1991) argue that the generation of small scale economic growth occurs mostly where the city is compact. This is in contrast with a scenario whereby there is sprawling low-density forms of development and defuse markets which encourage economic oligopolization (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1991).

Ngwadla (1994) also states that the more low-income people locate in the inner city, the better their informal businesses are going to perform. She relates this to the fact that vendors and hawkers thrive well in cities than they do in the periphery. Inner-city densification would be beneficial to the small trader because it would bring a lot more potential customers. It is also argued that densified cities have greater economic diversification and specialisation (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1991).

The above arguments seem to suggest that compacting the city is a precondition of generating small economic growth. This scenario apparently particularly applies to informal traders who sell at small scale level.

2.2.4 International Experience on Inner-city, Low-income Public Housing x

The public housing programme in Singapore which was initiated during the 1960's was induced by the need to address the acute housing shortage and overcrowding that existed at the time. The low-cost housing and urban renewal programmes were thus implemented in recognition of the fact that the housing market was not meeting the housing needs of low-income earners. (Castells, Goh and Kwok, 1990). In the case of Australia, the implementation of a public housing programme (after the second world war) was due to, among other things, the recognition of the fact that the state had an obligation to make housing available to those who could not maintain an acceptable standard of living without being aided by the government (Jones, 1972). The majority of low income earners in South African cities cannot afford housing of acceptable standards. One of the factors which contribute to this is that low-income earners do not qualify for home-loans that the financial institutions offer. The present South African government has formulated a policy in terms of which it will assist those who are in dire need of adequate housing, by providing capital subsidies.

Public investment in housing as has been experienced in Singapore is, according to Castells, Goh and Kwok (1990), the major influencing factor to the development of a viable housing programme (Castells, Goh and Kwok, 1990). This is also the case in

South Africa whereby the government has dedicated a proportion of its budget for housing people with low incomes. J.S. Adams (1991) states that the low-income group is attracted to areas that provide high quality and low-cost housing. He also sees urban housing as a crucial basis for labour reproduction.

M. A. Jones (1972) conducted an analytical study of the Australian public housing. ✕ He states that 36% of all new houses completed between 1945 and 1970 were financed by the state. The vast majority of which was provided under a general desire to house the poor. The Australian housing market was perceived to be highly imperfect such that the poor could not obtain adequate shelter without government intervention. On the other hand the provision of housing to the poor was seen as a means through which social evils like crime and unhealthy conditions could be overcome. Jones further argues that the majority of the problems associated with inadequate forms of housing are not problems of housing itself but are symptoms of people's low incomes (Jones, 1972).

2.3 Land for Inner-city Residential Development

The inner city is generally characterised by impediments to the proposed low-income inner-city housing, such as the huge land and development costs, stringent standards and inflexible zoning controls. The following are some of the arguments which address the land issue where development is envisaged.

When dealing with issues related to site location, one has to consider whether or not enough land is available for the kind of development envisaged. Another issue that needs to be considered is the fact that residential development competes with other uses like industrial, commercial, recreational and administrative uses (Grimes, 1943). Ngwadla (1994) has identified land costs as the most crucial issue than one should consider where inner-city housing development is contemplated. Nielsen (1986) argues that the cost of the land on which development is proposed is a major factor as it can make or break the scheme. Although inner-city land is well serviced and is better located in terms of access to useful facilities, most low-income people cannot afford to buy or own land situated within the city core. Because of the huge costs associated with inner-city land, low-income people resort to renting rather than owning land or property in the inner-city (Ngwadla, 1994).

The land market is, like any other market, governed by the forces of supply and demand. However land is, unlike other products in the market, not a homogenous product, and thus players in the land market have diverse and often conflicting interests. The operation of the land market is an area of concern to policy makers in many countries. What caused this concern is the fact that there is shortage in land supply or the price is too high, or both. This leads to a situation whereby there are pluralist land market systems with their own set of rules and actors (Farvaque and McAuslan, 1992).

Farvaque and McAuslan (1992) further contend that the demand for land is influenced by the use of the land (i.e in terms of the product or service produced on the land). With regard to the supply, it is argued that the monetary value of the quantity of land can be

influenced by the government's restrictions. The use of land can also be controlled by the same restrictions. These restrictions can be in the form of zoning or other land use control regulations (Farvaque and McAuslan, 1992).

Hong Kong is one of the countries which had a large scale public housing programme.*
At the time the Hong Kong government was implementing its programme, land available for development was limited. Due to the demand that existed during this period, the land value increased. The Hong Kong government however was able to make use of its land policy to absorb land costs. This absorption of land costs made it possible for the government to stabilise rent increases (Castells, Goh and Kwok, 1990). The unavailability of land for housing is one of the areas of concern. This again is due to the fragmentation, complexity and inadequacy of the regulatory framework within which land is delivered. Furthermore the lack of a coherent policy on land through which identification, assembly, planning and the release of land for low-income housing delivery could be facilitated, serves as another constraint.

A good administrative structure is needed with regard to issues related to land for development. The lack of good administration with regard to land and rent control in Bolivia led to a lot of inconveniences which could have been avoided if a sound law and trained administrative staff were put in place. International experience has shown that the greatest potential with regards to inner-city housing provision exists in the development of well located vacant or under used land. As part of Brazil's settlement policy, a draft law was passed which allowed more control by the state of private developments. This law stipulated that in areas where it was of social interest to

implement development, the government could force land owners to develop or improve the land. If the owner refused, or was not able to effect such development, then the government would purchase the land. The most significant aspect of this provision was that it made it possible for municipalities to enforce development of vacant land held for speculative gain (Hardly and Satterthwaite, 1981).

The local government is expected to be a facilitator and an actor in the provision of access to urban land with security of tenure, bulk infrastructure, and also in encouraging the building industry to play its role (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994). The availability of land can also enable local government structures to actively promote a more desirable pattern of development. This therefore calls for the implementation of a system whereby there is control in the use and appropriation of urban land. Devising land-use plans of this nature would empower the local authorities to overcome the many land related impediments which hinder low-income housing development. This would be more effective in the case of inner-city housing development, where there is a lot of competition for land.

The Black Land Act (No.27 of 1913), the South African Development Trust and Land Act (No.18 of 1936), and the Group Areas Act of 1950 identified land as a group exclusive commodity (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994). Therefore its no wonder that after the introduction of the latter act, land around city centres became white property. The dilemma of insufficient quantities of suitable land is compounded by the fact that well-located land will already reflect price increases and may prove too expensive for a public housing initiative (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994).

A proposal has been put forward with regard to how the issue of huge land costs could be addressed. The proposal is for an introduction of "vacant land tax" on land suitable for development. This should apply to land situated close to existing developed land, is supplied with bulk infrastructure, and there is demand for housing in that area. This would serve to make land available at affordable prices because it would then be expensive for the landowner to keep hold of under utilised land (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994).

2.4 Low-income Inner-city Housing Development

Planning towards inner-city housing development is regarded as an approach which would result to the integration of land uses and transport planning (Ngwadla, 1994). - Activity corridors should be considered in terms of converting buildings to residential use. Since these areas are not in "intense" public interest, it is less likely that there would be opposition to the proposed development (low-cost, inner-city housing) as these areas are mostly hostile or decaying zones (Byerley and Kabi, 1995). This notion is also shared by Kok and Gelderblom (1994), who argue for the conversion of vacant or under utilized buildings to residential use and high density housing development. The provision of medium to high-density development would be most appropriate for low-cost housing within the city (Mandy, 1994). Mandy (1994) further proposes housing units which are predominantly small bachelor one-bedroom units, plus a proportion of family units. Housing needs vary according to stability of residence (Kok and Gelderblom , 1994). This means that people who anticipate that they will not stay in the city for long may not want to make permanent investments in an Inner-city dwelling and may therefore prefer rental accommodation.

Jones (1972) has dealt the issue of high-rise development versus low-rise dwelling units. He points out that the high rise flats which were built as part of the public housing project in Australia proved to be more expensive than low-rise apartments. He further argues that not only are high-rise flats inherently expensive to build, they also have proven to be more expensive to maintain. The kind of maintenance service providers that are needed are cleaners, caretakers, security guards to prevent vandalism and the maintenance of lifts (Jones, 1972). He concludes this argument by stating that walk-up flats cost less and are a better option to choose when compared to high-rise flats. There is also a lot of discomfort on the part of occupants with regard to high-rise dwellings. Ward argues that one of the deficiencies characteristic of high density housing is the lack of consideration for children (Ward, 1983). Low-rise buildings would be the most attractive in terms of maintenance costs and also the most suitable for families with children.

Densification of inner city would also broaden the range of housing choices available and would create suitable housing opportunities (more especially) for smaller households. Inner-city housing would eliminate the sterile and monotonous environment that currently exists in South African cities.

2.5 Social Implications of Inner-city Densification

People who have a positive view of densification believe that it creates environments which promote social interactions, where people know each other better. This amongst other things, would afford people an opportunity to make friends and interact

informally with others of their own choice, and do so within their immediate vicinity. Ngwadla (1994) argues that in South Africa context this would amount to closing the gap created by the revival of the neighbourhood spirit. It is a well documented fact, in planning and sociological literature, that there is more preference for low-density residential areas on the part of the general public (Ngwadla, 1994). People are, generally, more attracted to these because they offer homes with adequate space and the desired kind of privacy. Briggs (1994) also contends that low-income people have a negative attitude towards flats and high rises. This, he says, is due to the prevalent experience, such as the lack of "adequate space" and the lack of desired kind privacy people encounter in these dwellings. A lot of undesirable social problems have been associated with high density, inner-city housing, such as; immorality, juvenile delinquency, and broken homes. Overcrowding is also perceived to have been the cause of pressures leading to domestic conflicts, mental and physical health (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994).

A counter argument to the above concerns is that many studies done on overcrowding have underestimated the ability of human beings to adapt to prevailing conditions in their various living environments. Further than that, few studies have been done in developed countries and cultural differences have been neglected (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994). Briggs (1994) contends that South Africa's low-income people have long been living in highly densified areas. This, he states, has been happening through subletting, the building of backyard shacks and through intense informal settlements. So the creation of densified areas in the inner-city will not be something entirely new to low-income people (Briggs, 1994).

There is little evidence collaborating with the general assumption that, generally, Africans do not want to live in high density housing. In a research done on Africans living in Hillbrow (an inner-city residential area in Johannesburg), poor people who often had to work until late in the city centre saw the convenient walking distance to their places of employment as a relief (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994). Peil (1983) argues that the effect of density varies culturally because there are different norms of association in some societies that in others. She further contends that most Europeans may feel overcrowded at densities in which the majority of Africans regard as acceptable. Africans are said to be accustomed to large family compounds and thus easily adapt to multi-family housing in town (Peil, 1983).

According to Byerley and Kabi, (1995), whilst people residing in shack settlements showed a desire to be located in townships, township residents identified their desired location areas as suburbs or inner-city housing. This proves that there is a market out there for inner-city housing. It has also been noted that there is more inflow of blacks into inner-city areas (inner-city flats) (Ngwadla, 1994). Most of these flats however cater for middle income people and therefore there is need for accommodation which widens inner-city housing opportunities to the lower income groups also. Since cities are places of cultural diversity and cultural expression, there is need for our planners to do more in terms of needs assessment before they start with design or other related plans (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994). This suggests that the environment created must be sensitive to social needs.

2.6 The Viability of a System of Rent Controls

Gentrification is a situation whereby the targeted beneficiaries of housing development are systematically moved out of dwellings they occupy and are replaced by groups with higher incomes. Gentrification results in the displacement of original residents (i.e. mostly the poor or the working class). This means that the living conditions these displaced people have become accustomed to would deteriorate (Bedderson, 1995). Bedderson (1995) states that one of the consequences which people experience from free market gentrification is the alteration in the socio-economic structure of the community. It can also lead to the progressive transfer of housing from rental to owner occupied sector.

Displacement is perceived to be a reflection of the weak position of the poor in society and particularly in the housing market. The low-income group is seen as standing in the path of private enterprise and procurement of greater profits (Bedderson, 1995).

Gentrification can be in one of the following ways;

- (i) Involuntary departure of the old aged or of long term families due to their inability to pay higher rents, and
- (ii) Inability of the newly wed young couple to acquire affordable accommodation in a place they have come to regard as home (Bedderson, 1995). Its clear from the above arguments that its mostly the poor who get displaced because of gentrification. This must lead to a sense of loss and helplessness as these people become decanted to unknown areas.

It is argued by some that although removal of rent control increased home ownership potential, it destroyed the hold low-income earners had on inner-city housing. Rent control however, has its negative effect in that it impinges upon the normal operation of the housing market. However when considering that the South African housing market has done little to address low-income group housing needs, the worst that could happen is disinvestment in the proposed scheme and subsequently, the deterioration of the housing stock because of lack of maintenance. The system of rent control with regard to the proposed new housing stock in the inner-city would have to be one of the compromises reached with the private sector in order to prevent gentrification. In order to prevent overcrowding the state should also deter the replacing of sound buildings with others of higher density simply because the latter prove to be more profitable.

2.7 The Implications of Inner-city Densification on the urban environment

✕ Housing should not be seen in isolation, it must be accompanied by good a quality environment. Refuse collection should form part of housing provision to ensure a clean and ecologically balanced environment (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994). To avoid a situation whereby the newly developed inner-city housing degenerates into a slum, it is essential that the physical upgrading must be accompanied by a comprehensive education program in the preservation of a clean healthy environment sanitation for the community" (Bedderson, 1995). There would also need to be slow commuter routes with multiple stop off points at nodes where commercial, social and residential

facilities are provided (Byerley and Kabi, 1995).

Nature conservationists support the idea of inner-city residential location because they perceive peripheral development as degrading to the natural environment. Inner-city residential development could also serve in reducing energy consumption and pollution levels (Ngwadla, 1994). There is a lot of literature which considers the idea of people residing in the inner-city as something which should be discontinued. City decay in some parts of the world is blamed on the low-income groups that live in the city. City decay is said to manifest itself in a rise in the crime rate, creation of an unhealthy environment, dilapidated building structures ... etc. It has also been noted that the absence of controls over buildings and public health can bring about unprecedented congestion and squalor.

The trend in the past, with regard to traditional planning principles, has been that of regarding the physical conditions of housing and the environment as the most important elements in housing development (Balchin, 1971). It is high time that developers and government legislators should realise that the most important aspect in the improvement of housing conditions are the beneficiary residents. On the other hand, however, one could argue that presently we have the benefit of hindsight whereby all the negative features can be guarded against early enough to prevent them from occurring.

This study will focus on showing the existing demand for low-cost, inner-city housing and the fact that past policies have precluded, an integrated and vibrant inner city. Another issue which will be dealt with here is the advantages and disadvantages which accompany housing development in the inner-city area.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section of the chapter serves to briefly introduce the methodological procedure to be undertaken in the testing of the hypothesis. This methodology will conform to aspects of the topic outlined within the theoretical framework (see chapter 2).

3.2 Historical Background of the Case Study Areas

A historical background of the two areas will be studied. This hopefully will serve in getting an understanding as to when, how the Albert Park and Point Road residential areas came into being. The background will also be studied for the purpose of ascertaining the policies that were at play during the formation of the case study areas and the beneficiaries for whom they were intended. Information with regard to how the present inhabitants came to be located in this area will also be sort.

3.3 Data Sources

Inner-city housing is a familiar concept in other parts of the world and emanating from that has been a lot of studies and theory with regard to inner-city housing. The available literature on inner-city housing will help in the understanding of the dynamics that are at play with regard to the proposed study. International experience

on inner-city housing found in this literature will enable the study to have an educated view of how implementation of the proposed development should be pursued.

Relevant material will be made use of so as to get an idea about measures, if there has been any, that have been undertaken locally to address the low-cost, inner housing shortage in South Africa.

In order to get a feel of the private sector attitude towards this kind of development, developers will be visited for consultation. This would assist in ascertaining the viability of this kind of development.

Interviews based on prepared questionnaires will be held with residents that live at the Albert Park and Point Road areas. Survey in both areas will concentrate on private sector inner-city residential blocks. This is due to the lack of public housing in the Durban inner-city. Results from the survey area and sample are intended to show whether or not the private housing market presently available in the inner city is accessible to low-income earners. The reason for choosing these two areas is because they are high density residential areas, situated within the city core, and accommodate residents who, due to their having an experience of the inner-city residential environment, may provide information with regard to the likes and dislikes of people living in high-density, inner-city environments. These are people who are already consumers of the inner-city housing market.

3.4 Sampling Method

A sample of respondents will be selected to represent the population living in the inner city. The sampling frame for this study will be the inhabitants of the Point road and Albert Park residential areas. A sample of fourty respondents from each area will be drawn from this sampling frame. The study will make use of the probability approach to sampling whereby every element in the sampling frame will have an equal chance of being included in the sample. The type of probability sample that will be adopted here is simple random sampling of apartment blocks. Racially the sample will be broken down with a numerical bias towards African respondents. The final selection of respondents will be left up to the field workers at the time of interviewing with the proviso that they select mainly African respondents.

3.5 Questionnaire Design and Format

The research will be seeking to elicit information about, household size and number of rooms per dwelling unit. Information with regard to the age and occupation of the people to whom inner-city housing appeals will also be the focus of the questionnaires. Household incomes, gender profile, marital status, and education levels will form part of the required information. These questionnaires will also make it possible to get an understanding as to; reasons for choosing the current residential location, problems encountered, Solutions to problems (..if any..), future aspirations and location preference.

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDY OF THE DURBAN INNER CITY (ALBERT PARK AND POINT ROAD RESIDENTIAL AREAS)

4.1 Brief History and Background of the Survey Areas

The Albert Park area was developed towards the end of the 19th century. It was originally considered to be one of the "better" residential areas in Durban. Albert Park developed into a predominantly white middle class residential area, which was due to the movement of upper classes to the new suburbs of the Berea. Since the 1930's this area served as a residential area into which new immigrants into the city settled. Its during this very same period (1930's) that the rise in demand for accommodation led to rising real estate prices and vertical expansion. As a result, presently the area consists largely of apartment blocks most of which are rented rather than privately owned (Hindson and Byerley, 1993)

The early 1980's brought with them a gradual multiracial component in the area caused by the illegal movement of Indian, Coloured and African residents into selected blocks of flats in the Albert Park area. Whilst at first there were Whites who fronted for black tenants, over time some flats openly accepted black tenants. This was largely due to the lack of demand for inner-city accommodation by whites, and the housing shortage experienced by people living in black areas. The ^Pscraping of the Group Areas act in 1991 officially opened this area to occupation by all race groups.

According to 1993 estimates, a half of the households that live in the area are black (Hindson and Byereley, 1993).

The Point is one of the oldest settlements in Durban. During the 19th century, the first Europeans settled in the area. It is said to have originated during the commencement of the harbour and dock works. It became an employment focus to a great variety of workers (i.e. including skilled and unskilled workers). Many of the unskilled labourers lived in the backyards of the city with friends. Their presence resulted in the development of barracks. Stevedore companies also developed compounds for the purpose of having on site labour for immediate use (Kearney, 1995).

One of the earliest informal settlements in the area was Bamboo squire. The area mainly lived blacks and Indians, although there is speculation that there were some whites who also took up residence in the area. Bamboo Squire was located within close proximity of work resources. This area symbolized the earliest evidence of housing shortage in areas close work. Its destruction was part of the numerous similar events during the apartheid era (Harthone, 1994). During the 1880's hostels and barracks are said to have been built for the "harbour board" and stevedore companies. Between 1903 and the 1950's, several single storied houses were constructed in several parts of the point (Kearney, 1995).

The point contains a variety of land uses. These include industrial, transportation, commercial, educational, recreational, and residential. Due to being excluded from the mainstream city development, some areas of the point have undergone considerable

deterioration and urban decay.

4.2 Data Gathering

This methodology is based on a survey undertaken in the Albert Park area located near Durban's CBD. The focus has mainly been on African residents in the area, on the basis of their having been previously denied the opportunity to reside in the inner city. One other significant factor that was taken into account with regard to this population group is that it generally has the lowest of income groups categories in South Africa.

The sample was randomly selected among blocks in the back streets of the Albert Park area, since it is where black residents are concentrated. Before the interviews were conducted, the purpose of the study was explained to the respondents. No difficulties were encountered at this stage since, apparently, most respondents had previous experiences of answering interview questions during surveys conducted in the area. The interviews were carried out on weekends during which most of the potential respondents were at home. A structured questionnaire was used and this contained both open-ended and close-ended questions. These interviews were conducted on a face to face basis.

Getting access into the selected blocks did not present any difficulties as most of them had no security system in place (i.e access control). In those blocks where there were security guards in place, access was obtained through simply signing a guest

book. However in order to ensure a measure of trust on the part of residents, the supervisors of the various blocks selected were contacted, to whom the purpose of the survey was explained.

The interview questions were largely based on some of the research sub-questions. The information gathered centered around, among other things, the profile of living conditions, surrounding environment, and the desirability of inner-city housing to the respondents. The information that the questionnaire was expected to elicit included issues such as; reasons for living in the area, type of dwelling unit preferred, affordability, and the number of residents per dwelling unit.

Information with regard to social background and future aspirations of the respondents was also gathered for the purpose of getting an idea as to the potential market of inner-city housing development, and whether or not inner-city housing will only serve as a "staging post" for new migrants to the city, as opposed to being permanent residents. The demographic data also came up with information relating to age, gender, educational level, marital status, occupation, income...etc. It thus became possible to address the assumption that low-income people in South Africa form part of the market for inner-city housing development.

Through responses to the research questions, it was hoped that enough data would be acquired in order to test the hypothesis and assumptions thereof.

4.3 Presentation of the Survey Results

4.3.1 GENERAL: Characteristics of the Surveyed Area Tenants/Owners

TABLE 1: AGE OF TENANTS/OWNERS (Albert Park & Point Road Areas)

RESPONSE (YEARS)	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
15-25	8	20
26-35	20	50
36-45	12	30
46-55	0	0
56-65	0	0
TOTAL	40	100

In determining the age of the respondents (Table 1) it was found that the 15-25 years age group category amounts up to 20% of the sample. 50% of the surveyed residents fall into the 26-35 age group, whilst 30% goes into the 36-45 years category. This is the case with both Albert Park and Point road area respondents. For some reason, none of the interviewed residents is above the age of 45. This can be interpreted to mean that most low-income, inner-city residents are those who have a potential to be economically active, rather than pensioners or people enjoying old age retirement.

TABLE 2: GENDER OF TENANTS OR OWNER OCCUPIERS (Albert Park)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
MALE	13	32,5
FEMALE	27	67,5
TOTAL	40	100

The Albert Park sample differs from the one done at the Point Road area (Point) with regard to the gender profile of the tenants or owners (Table 2). Male respondents at the Albert park blocks constitute 32,5% whilst females are a majority at 67,5%. The situation at the Point is the opposite in that only 37.5% of the sample are female owner occupiers or tenants. The remaining 62.5% falls into their male counterparts (Table 3). An assumption that can be drawn from the gender profile in the two areas is that when the situation allows (as is the case in rental accommodation) both men and women have equal abilities to run a household.

TABLE 3: GENDER OF TENANTS/OWNER OCCUPIERS (Point Road)

RESPONDENTS	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
MALE	25	62,5
FEMALE	15	37,5
TOTAL	40	100

TABLE 4: MARITAL STATUS OF THE SURVEY AREA TENANTS/OWNERS

MARITAL STATUS	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
SINGLE	24	60
MARRIED	16	40
DIVORCED	0	0
TOTAL	40	100

Once again the two areas surveyed produced similar figures when the marital status of the respondents was put into question. From the survey results in Table 4, it can be said that 60% of the respondents comprises of singles, with married people making up the remaining 40%. None of the interviewed people are divorced or widowed. This section of the questionnaire has been useful in trying to ascertain the profile of people to whom inner-city housing appeals. On the other hand it can be said that although inner-city housing still largely appeals to the young and single, there is a substantial number of young and married couples who form part of the inner-city housing market. This means that in future, the planning that goes along with inner-city housing development should not only cater for single for predominantly singles and couples, but should also take into account that families as well use inner-city housing accommodation (i.e. In terms of also providing family units). This requires that there should be development of a mixed-use concept type of residential units.

4.3.2 SOCIAL

TABLE 5: LENGTH OF STAY IN THE INNER CITY (Albert Park)

PERIOD (YEARS)	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
1yr	12	30
2yrs	7	17,5
3yrs	4	10
4yrs	4	10
5yrs	13	32,5
+5yrs	0	0
TOTAL	40	100

30% of the Albert park respondents have been living in the area for a period of one year (Table 5). It has also been determined that 17,5% of the sample has lived in the area for a period of at least two years. Furthermore 10% indicated that the duration of their stay in the area is three years, this percentage also applies to those who have a four year period as residents in this area. The remaining sample all belonged to the group which have been residing in the area for five years. None of the respondents indicated having lived in the area for more than five years, whilst on the other hand, the last two years' figures show an increase in the number of newly arrived residents.

TABLE 6: LENGTH OF STAY IN THE INNER CITY (Point Road)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
2yrs	13	32,5
3yrs	8	20
4yrs	0	0
5yrs	16	40
TOTAL	40	100

Point Road survey figures have proven to be different from the Albert Park ones (Table 6). The majority of respondents in this part of the city are people who have resided in the area for a period of five years (40%). Those who have lived at the Point for a year, two years, and three years constitute 7.5%, 32,5 %, and 20% respectively. However, not even one of the people interviewed indicated to have lived in the area for a period of four years. This maybe due to the size (small) of the sample.

The relatively short time that the respondents in both areas indicated to have spent as residents in the inner city is more likely due to the recent "opening-up" of the area to all race groups, than to unwillingness on the part of the respondents to be inner-city residents for long. Indications are that the flow of people into the city is still going to continue. The stability (residentially) shown by black residents (who have a relatively

short period as residents in the city) requires that an inner-city residential development policies should cater for permanent low-income dwellers.

TABLE 7: RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY (Albert Park)

WHERE FROM	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
RURAL AREA	12	30
BLACK TOWNSHIPS	24	60
INDIAN/COLOURED TOWNSHIPS	4	10
TOTAL	40	100

This section centres around the residential mobility pattern of low-income inner-city residents. The question of preferred form of residential and living environment has also been tackled here. This has helped in getting a feel of the reasons behind the respondents' deciding to settle in the inner city.

As indicated in Table 7, the sample of Albert Park residents shows that 30% of the respondents have roots in rural areas, predominantly of which are situated in the former Transkei. 60% indicated that they moved from Black townships and 10% have Indian and Coloured townships background.

This question centres around the kind of pull effect which the two areas surveyed had on the respondents before they came to live there. 35% of the respondents at the Albert Park indicated that they came to live in the area so they could be closer to where they work (Table 9). 32% claimed they became attracted to the area because its close to essential services and facilities 25% argued that it is generally convenient to be situated in the inner-city, in terms of all the benefits that can be associated with being situated near the city core. 7,5% of the respondents, particularly those who used to live in townships, indicated that crime and the lack of safety in townships induced them to come to live in this area. One of the negative factors they associated with living in townships is that; it is not unusual for one to be forced to participate in political feuds, political protests or demonstrations.

TABLE 8: RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY (Point Road)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
RURAL AREAS	4	10
BLACK TOWNSHIPS	24	60
INDIAN/COLOURED TOWNSHIPS	0	0
INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS	12	30
TOTAL	40	100

Point Road area survey results indicates that 10% of the residents have rural area background (Table 8). Residents from Black townships are similar in number to their counterparts at Albert Park (i.e. 60%). Instead of having people who moved from Indian or Coloured townships, 30% of the Point Road area (Point) survey indicates that they were formerly residing in some of the informal settlements around Durban (e.g. Cator Manor and Inanda). This phenomenon (presence of former informal settlement dwellers) is more prevalent in the very old blocks at the Point, one of which has very small one-roomed flats.

Table 10 indicates that at the Point, 32% of the sample, attribute their being located in the area to the benefit of being situated closer to work. Those who appreciate closer proximity to services make up 10%, whilst those who perceive the inner city to be a generally convenient location amount up to 37,5% of the survey. 12,5% cited issues such as conflicts with families, the burning down of their previous dwellings and being targets of criminal elements as the most influencing factors behind their deciding to come to live in the Point Road area. One of the respondents (in the category that made up 7,5% of the sample) mentioned that he chose to live in the area because it provides more space as compared to his previous accommodation. He indicated that he moved out of his parents' four-roomed house because he had gotten married, and so wanted more space for his wife and children. Some wanted to enjoy the independence one experiences in his or her own rental accommodation. Data in both areas indicates that more people continue to flow into the city. The following tables will show the pull effect that inner-city housing has on the low-income group.

TABLE 9: REASON FOR CHOICE OF RESIDENTIAL AREA (Albert Park)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
CHEAP ACCOMMODATION	0	0
NEEDED MORE SPACE	0	0
CLOSER TO WORK	14	35
CLOSER TO SERVICES & FACILITIES	13	32,5
GENERALLY CONVENIENT LOCATION	10	25
OTHER	3	7,5
TOTAL	40	100

TABLE 10: REASON FOR CHOICE OF RESIDENTIAL AREA (Point Road)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
CHEAP ACCOMMODATION	0	0
MORE SPACE	3	7,5
CLOSE TO WORK	13	32,5
CLOSER TO SERVICES & FACILITIES	4	10
GENERALLY CONVENIENT	15	37,5
OTHER	5	12,5
TOTAL	40	100

TABLE 11: OCCUPATION STATUS IN PREVIOUS ACCOMMODATION (Albert Park)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
RENTAL	15	37,5
OWN	13	32,5
PARENT'S DWELLING	12	30
TOTAL	40	100

Table 11 shows that of the 40 Albert Park respondents, 37,5% rented their previous accommodation (i.e before coming to live in the inner-city). 32.5 % were owner occupiers, and 30% previously lived in their parents' dwelling.

TABLE 12: OCCUPATION STATUS IN PREVIOUS ACCOMMODATION (Point Road)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
RENTAL	11	27,5
OWN	5	12,5
PARENT'S DWELLING	24	60
TOTAL	40	100

60% of Point Road residents (Table 12) previously lived at their parents dwelling, only 12,5% were owner occupiers, and the remaining 27,5% rented their previous accommodation.

The majority of the people who indicated that they rented their previous accommodation were referring to township rooms, backyard shacks and a few of them had previously been renting in other inner-city blocks. The large number of those who claimed that they owned their previous accommodation are those who have a rural area background. There were also those who indicated that they previously owned a township, followed by a very few respondents who used to be shack owner-occupiers.

TABLE 13: OCCUPATION STATUS IN PRESENT ACCOMMODATION (Albert Park & Point Road)

RESPONSE (OWN/RENT)	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
RENTAL	74	92,5
OWNER-OCCUPIED	6	7,5
TOTAL	80	100

Both at Albert Park and at the Point, 92,5% of the survey samples are renting their present accommodation (Table 13). Owner occupiers in both areas make up only 7,5% of the respondents.

This section of the questionnaire has helped in determining the kind of ownership status that appeals to most inner-city, low-income residents. 80% of the respondents who live in Albert Park blocks stated that they prefer to be owner occupiers rather than to live in rental accommodation (Table 14). The reasons put forward for the preferred status of occupation are; it is financially convenient to pay for accommodation one owns than paying rent "forever". There is general feeling, among the respondents who argued financial convenience, that they would be paying less than they are paying now if they were owner occupiers. Some stated that they want accommodation they can call their own. Ownership is regarded by others as some form of investment and is thus preferred than rental. These justifications for preferred kind of occupation status apply to Point Road residents as well, where the entire survey sample (100%) prefers ownership to rental (Table 15). The reason behind the respondents being mainly tenants (i.e. despite their disliking the present status quo) is because of their inability to secure bonds from banks and building societies which would enable them to buy their accommodation. Furthermore, most respondents still remain being tenants inspite of their desire to be owner-occupiers because of the benefits of being located in the areas they reside in.

Some of the respondents who prefer rental argued that they would rather invest in owning houses than owning flats or apartments. There are also those who stated that they have no problem with renting because after all, they intend investing in building their own houses in rural areas.

TABLE 14: PREFERRED OCCUPATION STATUS (Albert Park)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
RENTAL	8	20
OWN	32	80
TOTAL	40	100

Besides the issue of lack of affordability on the part of the low-income group (i.e. in terms of acquiring ownership status), the reality is that the majority is still renting, and therefore both rental and ownership options should be pursued. This means that residential development in the inner city should be flexible in terms of intended residential pattern character.

TABLE 15: PREFERRED OCCUPATION STATUS (Point Road)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
RENTAL	0	0
OWN	40	100
TOTAL	40	100

TABLE 16: CONDITION OF DWELLING UNITS (Albert Park)

CONDITION OF DWELLING UNIT	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
GOOD	21	52,5
FAIR	11	27,5
BAD	8	20
TOTAL	40	100

Table 16 indicates that 52,5 % of the Albert Park sample feel satisfied with the condition of their dwelling units. 27,5 % indicated that; whilst their dwelling units, together with the entire block, cannot be said to be in good condition, they are tolerable. Those who feel the dwellings are in bad condition make up 20% of the respondents. This is attributed to the lack of maintenance, in terms of leaking water pipes and walls that badly needed painting. In some of the blocks there is said to be inefficient refuse collection which results to bad odours and a generally unhealthy environment.

TABLE 17: CONDITION OF DWELLING UNITS (Point Road)

RESPONSE	NO OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
GOOD	0	0
FAIR	11	27,5
BAD	29	72,5
TOTAL	40	100

The majority of respondents at the Point feel that the blocks they reside in are in very poor condition (Table 17). Once again the lack of maintenance and filth are a source of dissatisfaction. Some complain of leaking water pipes, and broken geysers, which result to their having to use cold water. In one of the blocks at the Point people complained that their flats are still infested with cockroaches and rats, despite numerous attempts to bring this to the attention of the local authority. Further complaints have been mentioned with regard to the lack of privacy experienced by residents in some of the blocks. This has been said to be partly a result of the communal bathrooms which have broken locks. Another source of contention is the fact that some of the residents tend to leave the washing and toilet facilities filthy. The general lack of maintenance results to a health hazard. Concerns were voiced regarding the lack of safety inside the blocks, which increases the risk of mugging, or violation on the part of residents. The general complaint among most of the respondents is about the dilapidated state of their blocks, which they attribute to the

fact that the buildings are very old.

The remaining 27,5% felt that the condition of their present accommodation is "acceptable". None of the interviewed people indicated that these dwellings were in good condition.

Literature review has shown that a sense of ownership instills responsibility and pride on people. Furthermore, experience has shown that whenever people don't get value for their money, there will be a lack of identification (on their part) with the environment they find themselves in. This automatically leads to neglect or uncaring attitude towards their environment. There is therefore need that incentives should at some stage, after low-cost housing development has occurred, be introduced so that people can have pride in their dwellings (e.g. Conversion of rental into ownership, or constant maintenance and upkeep of the dwellings).

TABLE 18: SOURCE OF ENERGY (Albert Park)

RESPONSE	NO. OF DWELLINGS	% OF TOTAL
ELECTRICITY	29	72,5
GAS & PARAFFIN	11	27,5
TOTAL	40	100

Table 18 reveals that the predominant source of energy in the Albert Park blocks visited is electricity. At least 72,5% of the dwellings selected have electricity. However, 27.5% of the sample indicated that they are making use of the gas or paraffin because the city council has cut-off electricity. The fact that some residents have been illegally connecting cables, from those who are paying their electricity bills, is said to be one of the reasons for the "cut-off". Others claim that although they have been paying their electricity bills together with their rent, they also are experiencing the "cut-off". They suspect that the landlord has not forwarded their payments to the council. One of the blocks which has no electricity is a sixteen storey building, and consequently residents staying in upper floors have to make use of steps as the lifts are not functioning. This problem could be alleviated through high density, walk-up apartments, as against high-rise which are not user friendly and are expensive and develop and maintain.

All dwelling units visited at the point have electricity. Complaints emerged however that some plugs are either malfunctioning or have ceased to function altogether. This makes it impossible to use electricity for essentials like cooking, ironing etc., which has caused a lot of inconvenience on the part of the residents. Others complain of the frequent black-outs they experience at times (especially when its windy or raining).

The people interviewed were frank about their dislike of being compelled to use Gas or Paraffin because of a problem they had not created. They felt it was very unfair and inconsiderate of the landlords concerned to further delay the re-installation of the electricity supply.

TABLE 19: STATE OF LIVING ENVIRONMENT (Albert Park)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
GOOD	21	52,5
FAIR	19	47,5
BAD	0	0
TOTAL	40	100

In trying to get an idea of how the residents feel about the general living environment in the two selected areas, a question was asked about their various experiences in living at the centre of activity and how they perceive the environment around them. 52,5% of the Albert Park residents feel satisfied about the living environment in the area (Table 19). 47,5% on the other hand find the area to be tolerable, but however raising concerns with regard to the presence of devious characters in the area, which they fear will be a bad influence to their young ones. Another source of concern in the area is the unbearable noise levels and overcrowding. These are attributed to the huge presence of technical college, technikon and university students living in the area. The older residents complain of the lack of respect on the part of the youth (particularly students), who play their music loud with no consideration of other residents.

TABLE 20: STATE OF LIVING ENVIRONMENT (Point Road)

RESPONDENTS	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
GOOD	8	20
FAIR	13	32,5
BAD	19	47,5
TOTAL	40	100

Table 20 shows that only 20% of the Point Road respondents regard the living environment of the area to be good. 47,5% claim that it is bad. Those who live with their families indicated that the living environment in the area is not good for bringing up children, whom they claim were confined, due to the unavailability of recreation space, and the risks their children are exposed to. Noise once again is said to be intolerable as, apparently, it is an "accepted" part of life in most of these blocks. 32,5% felt that the good and the bad side of life at the Point are reconcilable and thus feel they will continue to willingly endure staying in the area.

Effective policing community involvement in curbing crime is one of the avenues that need to be made use of in getting rid of criminal elements around the place. The high noise levels need a decisive step by relevant authorities to effect penalties for noise pollution and to control the inflow of traffic in residential areas. Overcrowding is largely due to the existent housing backlog and the lack of affordable housing in the inner-city.

Another factor which contributes to overcrowding in the inner-city residential areas is the lack of student accommodation. The provision of separate student accommodation would lessen the overcrowding that some inner-city residents (more especially in the Albert Park area) complain of. There is need that residential areas should be clearly defined territorially, so as to make it easier deal with some of the problems that residents encounter, more especially those which originate from outside their residential territory.

A. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VISITED DWELLING UNITS

Most of the Albert Park flats visited have two bedrooms. Some of the residents have converted balconies into bedrooms in order to create more space for sleeping. These balconies have also been converted for the purpose of renting out space to sub-tenants (especially students). There is also a substantial number of single-bedroom flats, in some of which residents use the living room space for sleeping.

Almost 80% of the respondents indicated that they have no problem with the fact that their flats have single living rooms. The rest however indicated that they would love to also have adjoining dining room areas. With regard to bedrooms the majority of respondents prefer three bedroom accommodation, the concern being that of providing separate sleeping accommodation for children and visitors. The rest indicated that they can settle for two bedroom dwelling units.

All the flats visited at Albert Park have separate kitchens. The issue of concern however is the amount of space allocated to this area of the dwelling. Residents complain that because of the very small size of the kitchens, they are not able to put in kitchen furniture and appliances they want to install.

About 80% of the Point Road dwellings have living rooms. However one of the flats in the blocks visited has single-room flats, which are used for cooking, lounging, sleeping....etc. These flats have no washing or toilet facilities, and their occupants make use of a communal bathroom and toilets down the corridor. The filthy state of these facilities compels many of the residents to use washing basins, thus using their living quarters (flats) as bathrooms as well.

The majority of the flats at the Point (about 70%) have single bedrooms. Once again balconies have been converted into sleeping accommodation in those flats which have some. Its a very small amount (10%) of the visited blocks which have two-bedroom flats. The remaining 20% belongs to the single-room flats mentioned above.

All the people interviewed indicated that they would love to have dwellings with at least a living room. Almost 70% stated that they prefer two-bedroom accommodation. The rest (approximately 30%) mentioned that they can be satisfied with three-bedroom accommodation. Same concerns as those of the people at Albert park were raised by the Point Road respondents with regard to kitchen space. The only difference here is that some of the dwellings (as has already been mentioned above) have no kitchens at all. All respondents indicated that they would appreciate more

kitchen space than the one they currently have in their dwellings.

The lack of affordability on the part of low-income people and the perceived excessive rent costs are the main reasons behind people living in cramped dwellings.

TABLE 21: NUMBER OF RESIDENTS PER DWELLING UNIT (Albert Park)

NO. OF PERSONS PER DWELLING UNIT	NO. OF DWELLING UNITS	% OF TOTAL
3	9	22,5
4	10	25
5	8	20
6	6	15
7	5	12,5
8	2	5
TOTAL	40	100

Table 21 indicates that the majority of dwelling units surveyed (25%) have at least four occupants in each. 22,5% of these live three residents per dwelling. Those that live at least five residents each make up 20% of the sample, and 15% is constituted of the ones that live up to six people. Some accommodate as many as seven people

accommodate unemployed relatives, some of which do not make any contribution towards the household expenses. Some live with their wives and children. What became obvious from the comments made by the residents, and observation on the part of the interviewer, is that some of these people live in very overcrowded situations and a lot of privacy is lost in the process. Therefore, in developing the inner-city, the number of people per dwelling needs to be taken into consideration.

B. INTERACTION WITH SURROUNDING COMMUNITY

To find out whether there is any sense of community amongst residents towards one another, interaction between residents and the surrounding community was questioned. Most people at Albert Park claimed that the people they live with in the area tend to keep to themselves. Whilst a large number of the respondents do not seem to know the cause of this attitude, there are those who claim that this is due to "status", whereby some residents look down upon others. Others argued that a considerable number of people do not live for long in the area or at the same flat. This, they argued, leads to the disruption of relations that have only just started to grow.

The fact that some of the flats (often a substantial number of them) are at times occupied by students, who return to their various homes during vacations, has also been attributed to the lack of interaction. There were some suggestions as to how interaction can be encouraged between both people residing in the same blocks, and the Albert Park community at large, can be encouraged. The first one addresses the

issue of lack of interaction between people living in the same block. The creation of a communal lounge, communal recreation place, or open space have also been perceived to be issues which need consideration by the landlord, in collaboration with the tenants. Another suggestion that came forward is of organising events such as sports days, where hopefully, people of different blocks can meet and interact, and a neighbourhood spirit is created.

Respondents at the Point Road made no indication that there is lack of interaction in the area. Most of the people interviewed stated that the interaction amongst residents in the area, which extends beyond one's block. For the few who indicated otherwise, it is largely due to their having recently arrived in the area.

TABLE 23: TENANTS/OWNER OCCUPIERS' DESIRED LOCATION (Albert Park)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
SUBURB	16	40
INDIAN & COLOURED TOWNSHIPS	9	22,5
RURAL AREAS	7	17,5
OTHER	8	20
TOTAL	40	100

Asked if they would move out of their present accommodation if they had no constraints (financial or otherwise), 100% of the Albert Park respondents indicated that they would definitely move out of the dwellings. 40% stated that they would like to reside in white suburbs (Table 23). The Indian and Coloured townships became the desired location for 22.5% of the sample. 17% prefer to invest in housing situated in rural areas. Those who felt that the rent they are paying is excessive, if compared to the condition of their accommodation (20%), indicated that they would move to "better" flats (i.e in terms of reasonable rent, an "acceptable" standard kind of dwelling, security, and quietness). The issue of rent control is a factor which also requires attention in terms of guarding against excessive rents where the standard of the dwelling does not justify it.

Those who prefer staying in white suburbs argued that they like the quietness in these areas and spaciousness associated with suburban dwellings. The above argument also applied to those respondents who prefer to be located in Indian or Coloured townships. Further reason for disapproving of the present living environment is; the confinement (lack of recreation) being experienced by their young ones, crime (e.g. theft), noise, and the lack of maintenance. The respondents who prefer rural area location are largely influenced by their desire to live closer to their immediate and extended families. They also claim that they liked the peace and quite in rural areas.

TABLE 24: TENANTS/OWNER OCCUPIERS' DESIRED LOCATION (Point Road)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
POINT ROAD	3	7,5
SUBURB	4	10
TOWNSHIP	4	10
INDIAN & COLOURED TOWNSHIP	17	42,5
OTHER	12	30
TOTAL	40	100

It's only 7,5% of the Point Road respondents who indicated that they like living in the area (Table 24). The major reason for this sentiment is that they are able to enjoy their independence, and that they are used to the Point Road area community and therefore feel they belong there. 10% feel that suburban location is the most attractive, whilst another 10% is hoping for peace and quite to re-establish itself in black townships, where they prefer to live. 42,5% prefer Indian and Coloured townships and the reasons mentioned are the same as those which apply to the Albert Park residents. Due to the dilapidated state of some of the Point Road dwellings (together with some other problems being experienced in the area), 30% argued that, whilst they appreciate the benefits associated with their location, they would desire to be located in flats that are up to standard, and at which accommodation is provided at

reasonable cost. In contrast to the situation at Albert park, none of the residents here wish to live in rural areas.

4.3.3 ECONOMIC

**TABLE 25: EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF ALBERT PARK TENANTS/OWNER
OCCUPIERS**

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
ILLITERATE	0	0
PRIMARY	5	12,5
SECONDARY	19	47,5
POST-MATRIC	16	40
TOTAL	40	100

The table showing educational levels (Table 25) reveals that none of the residents at Albert Park are illiterate. Those with primary education constitute 12,5%. Most respondents in this area have secondary school level of education (47,5%). This contrasts with the idea that amongst blacks the inner city is more popular to the young university or technikon graduate. 40% of the sample generally consists of post-matric qualifications. This includes those who are still studying and therefore have not yet

achieved any post-matric qualifications, and those who have done one or more post matric courses.

**TABLE 26: EDUCATION LEVELS OF POINT ROAD TENANTS/OWNER
OCCUPIERS**

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
ILLITERATE	0	0
PRIMARY	5	12,5
SECONDARY	23	57,5
POST-MATRIC	12	30
TOTAL	40	100

Once again none of the respondents at the Point Road area are illiterate (Table 26). Furthermore, people with a primary school education level again proved to be a small minority (12,5%). 57,5% is constituted of respondents with secondary school education levels, which also is the majority category in this area. The remaining 30% comprises of people with post matric qualification.

Literacy levels in both are relatively one when one takes into consideration the fact that more than 50% of the countries' population is illiterate. For some reason the inner

city attracts those who are literate and it can be assumed that any inner-city housing development that occurs in future will appeal largely to those who are literate and do semi-skilled, skilled or professional work.

**TABLE 27: THE TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT TENANTS/OWNER OCCUPIERS
CURRENTLY ENJOY (Albert Park)**

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
UNSKILLED	0	0
SEMI-SKILLED	12	30
SKILLED	6	15
SELF-EMPLOYED	10	25
PROFESSIONAL	5	12,5
UNEMPLOYED	7	17,5
TOTAL	40	100

In none of the two areas does the survey indicate that there are unskilled workers. Semi-skilled workers at Albert Park constitute 30%, whilst 15% is made up of skilled workers (Table 27). The second biggest percentage (25%) is made up of self-employed workers. These are either dressmakers, fashion designers, motor

mechanics etc. As indicated in the table, 12,5% are professional workers. The unemployment rate stands at 17,5%.

As can be evidenced from the above figures, the largest employment categories in the Albert Park area are the semi-skilled and the self-employed workers. This is reflective of the educational levels in the area, and as well as the already acknowledged business opportunities the inner-city offers.

**TABLE 28: THE TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT TENANTS/OWNER OCCUPIERS
CURRENTLY ENJOY (Point Road)**

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
UNSKILLED	0	0
SEMI-SKILLED	7	17,5
SKILLED	9	22,5
SELF EMPLOYED	16	40
PROFESSIONAL	0	0
UNEMPLOYED	8	20
TOTAL	40	100

Semi-skilled residents at the point are 17,5 of the survey sample. There are more

skilled workers in this area (22,5%) than at Albert Park. Therefore, the semi-skilled and skilled work account for the largest proportion of job categories enjoyed by residents at the Point Road area. Table 28 also reveals that self-employed respondents here make up a huge 40% of the sample. The unemployment rate here is higher at 20%. Another significant fact about the Point is that non of the respondents are professionals.

Survey figures in both areas indicate that the vast majority of the inner-city population is economically active. Even those who are unemployed have potential to be economically active in that they are still within the active age group category. Some of the unemployed indicated that they meet their financial obligations through incomes generated from casual jobs and or through running shebeens.

TABLE 29: INCOME LEVELS OF ALBERT PARK HOUSEHOLDS

RESPONSE	NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS	% OF TOTAL
R1501 00-R2500 00	23	57,5
R2501 00-R3500 00	17	42,5
TOTAL	40	100

The two areas' household incomes presented in the tables are augmented by rent from sub-lettees and or their contribution to living expenses. Table 29 indicates that

the majority of households in this area (57,5%) have incomes of between R1 500 and R2 500 . The remaining percentage (47,5%) of the surveyed households in the Albert Park area indicated that they have incomes of between R2 500 and R3 500 (42,5). The respondents regarded information regarding their incomes as very personal. It became easier to extract it through asking their incomes in terms of categories, rather than requesting that they reveal their actual incomes.

The monthly rental at Albert Park ranges mostly from R700 to R1 200. 42% of rentals fall between R600 and R900 per month (Table 30). 52% of the respondents pay rent of between R900 and R1 200, and 5% pay rent of above R1 200. Most residents here indicated that without subletting the they are doing, together with the conversion of balconies into sleeping quarters, they would hardly be able to meet their rent payment and other living expenses' obligations. However, most indicated that they can afford reasonable increase in rent, but provided that their demands (e.g. proper maintenance, security..etc) are satisfied. The rest feel that the rent they are paying is too much as it is, and so argue that they cannot afford an increase.

Most people in this area indicated after the payment of rent they are left with an average of between R 1000 and R2 000 in funds, which is used to meet all other living expenses like groceries, education, electricity etc.

TABLE 30: MONTHLY RENTAL IN ALBERT PARK DWELLINGS

RESPONSE	NO. OF PERSONS	% OF TOTAL
R300-R600	0	0
R601-R900	17	42
R901-R1200	31	52
+R1 200	2	5
TOTAL	40	100

TABLE 31: INCOME LEVELS OF POINT ROAD HOUSEHOLDS

RESPONSE	NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS	% OF TOTAL
R801 00-R1500 00	14	35
R1501 00-R2500 00	22	55
+R2501 00	4	10
TOTAL	40	100

The majority of households at the Point (55%) are in the R1 500 to R2 500 income group category (Table 31). They are followed by the R800 to R1 500 category at 35%. Those who earn above R2500 make up the remaining 10% of the survey. As mentioned above, this area household incomes have are also been augmented

through contribution from co-tenants (and sub-tenants in some instances) or family members living in the same dwelling unit. The average income left after payment of rent in this area households is between R800 and R1 500.

TABLE 32: MONTHLY RENTAL IN POINT ROAD DWELLINGS

RESPONSE	NO. OF DWELLING UNITS	% OF TOTAL
R300-R600	12	30
R601-R900	21	52,5
R901-R1 200	7	17,5
+R1 200	0	0
TOTAL	40	100

Table 32 shows that at the point 30% of the respondents pay rent of between R300 and R600. These rates predominantly apply to the single roomed flats, where only two people can be accommodated. In almost all these single room flats two tenants pay R300 each. Most respondents in the area (52,5%) pay rent of between R601 and R900 and the remaining (17,5%) group of respondents pay rent of between R901 and R1 200. None of the flats visited charge more than R1 200 in rent.

Subletting is very minimal at the Point, probably because there is very little or no space at all that can be spared. Most residents at the Point stated that they would be satisfied with their accommodation if their dwellings could be renovated, failing which they should be demolished for new and up to standard accommodation. Apart from those who indicated that they cannot afford any further increase in rent, those who said they could were adamant that they would only do so in the event of the improvement of their blocks and dwelling units' condition.

The fact that most low-income residents at Albert Park and at the Point spend more than 30% of their combined household incomes in paying for accommodation indicates the prevalent lack of affordable dwelling units in the inner city.

4.3.4 DISPLACEMENT

This section was included in the questionnaire for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not there is any displacement in the two study areas. Another important factor which the interview has focused on was the reasons behind reported incidences of displacement.

On being asked whether or not they knew of any displacements, respondents in both areas acknowledged that they know of former tenants who have been evicted from their accommodation. The most prevalent factor which influenced these evictions is said to be failure to pay rent. There were also reported incidences of people moving out of some blocks because of dissatisfaction with the living conditions. This applied

largely to the flats at the Point. Respondents further indicated that the evicted people and those who voluntary moved out of their dwellings relocated themselves in other flats (especially those who had moved out without duress) and some of them in townships around Durban (This applies mostly to the evicted people).

4.3.5 DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED

TABLE 33: AVAILABILITY OF LANDLORD TO RESPONDENTS (Albert Park)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
YES	27	67,5
NO	13	32,5
TOTAL	40	100

67,5% of Albert Park residents acknowledged that they have contact with their various landlords (Table 33). In some of the cases residents feel satisfied just by the fact they could pass their grievances and concerns through flat supervisors. However the availability of the landlord does not mean that all the problems being experienced are solved nor does it always lead to concerns being addressed. 32,5% indicated that they find it very difficult to find the landlord and as a result their problems are left unsolved. In one of the flats at Albert Park where electricity has been cut-off by the city council, respondents claimed that their landlord is in Johannesburg and attempts to contact him have proven futile.

TABLE 34: AVAILABILITY OF LAND LORD TO RESPONDENTS (Point Road)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
YES	11	27,5
NO	24	60
OTHER	5	12,5
TOTAL	40	100

Only 27,5% of Point Road residents indicated that they always can contact the landlord if they want to (Table 34). 60% percent believe they are experiencing so many problems because the landlord is unavailable. The rest (12,5%) stated that they have never felt they need to contact the landlord and so they do not know wether or not he can make himself available when they want to see him.

TABLE 35: CRIME LEVELS IN THE SURVEY AREA (Albert Park)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
NONE	8	20
LOW	5	12,5
FAIR	4	10
HIGH	23	57,5
TOTAL	40	100

20% of Albert Park residents claim that they have not heard of nor have they experienced any criminal related incidences (Table 35). They therefore feel that its safe in the area. 12,5% indicated that there is crime in the area like anywhere else, but that its at a very low level. 10% felt that crime levels are in between high and low. The majority (57,5%) believe that the level of crime in the area is high and that drastic measures need to be taken to address it.

TABLE 36: CRIME LEVELS IN THE SURVEY AREA (Point Road)

RESPONSE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
NONE	0	0
LOW	9	22,5
HIGH	31	77,5
TOTAL	40	100

Everyone in this area acknowledged that there are incidences of crime. 22.5% indicated that its at a very low level (Table 36). A huge 77.5% of the survey sample believe that the level of crime is very high in the area. Some attribute this to Police officers whom they claim are working with the criminal elements in the area.

Respondents in both areas put forward various suggestions as to how the crime epidemic in their immediate living environment, blocks and dwelling units can be

suppressed. The first of these suggestion is that; if the cost of renting can be reduced, then one would not be compelled to live with strangers (sub-tenants) who sometimes turn out to be thieves or crooks. The closer of "Joints"/Shebeens is perceived by some to be the solution to crime inside the blocks. Some advocate the installation of access control measures in the blocks and the placing of security guards to ensure that everyone adheres to the access control regulations. Whilst some claim that all that is needed is effective policing (i.e. there are enough police personnel), Others claim that there is a dire need to increase police numbers and police visibility.

The suggestions raised by respondents, in terms of how the crime issue can be addressed, need to be implemented so as to encourage community participation curbing crime and in the rooting-out of bad elements in their neighbourhoods.

4.4 Private Sector Attitude Towards Inner-city Housing Development

Mr G. Griffiths, a director at Stocks & Stock's housing division was consulted with for the purpose of ascertaining the private sector developers' attitude towards low-cost, inner-city housing development. He indicated that the trend with low-income people is that of investing in housing situated in the urban periphery. The kind of housing that this income group prefers is the single-house, single-plot kind of development that is prevalent in black townships. Mr Griffiths argued that this shows the lack of a potential market for inner-city housing among low-income people (blacks in particular). He further stated that as a developer he had no confidence in this kind of scheme unless the public sector is prepared to commit itself in ensuring that beneficiaries to this form

of housing honor their obligations (i.e. As a condition to a joint venture between the government and developers).

His major concern was that inner-city housing for the low-income group (more especially rental housing) is a high risk area because of possible rent boycotts and the fact that most low-income housing issues have the tendency of being politicised, which is not good for profit making. He further contented that banks would require guarantees, in terms of which the government or some organisation provides a warranty against default payments, in order to invest in inner-city housing for the poor.

The above response by a developer indicates the kind of attitude the private sector has towards investing to low-income housing in general. The stereotype that low-income people do not appreciate the benefits and convenience of being situated in the inner city is still existent despite the constant flow of the very same income group into the inner-city and areas immediate to city core. The argument that people prefer the single-house, single-plot dwelling does not take into account that people have little else to choose from.

The argument with regard to the financial risks involved is a valid one. However there is a need that the private sector should accommodate the lack of affordability among the majority of this country's citizens in terms of providing small loans at reasonable interest rates. There is also need that the government should show real commitment making appropriate assurances and by providing relevant incentives in order to remove the reluctance the private sector to invest in low-income housing.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

The major focus of the study was to investigate the housing needs of the formerly disadvantaged communities, whether or not the private housing market presently available in the inner city is accessible to low-income earners, the way in which inner-city housing can contribute towards addressing their housing needs, and whether or not Inner-city housing is a viable option.

Through both review of contemporary literature and the interviews conducted, It has been discovered that there is a huge backlog in housing amongst low-income people in urban areas. The main reason being that of the long existing neglect of blacks' housing needs by the previous government, in terms of providing housing according to existing demand and desired location, Including Inner-city housing.

Another issue which contributes to the housing backlog is the low-affordability levels of the South African low-income groups, coupled with the fact that the private housing market does not give any meaningful contribution towards making housing more affordable to the poor. This is due to the perception that lending to low-income people is highly risky. As a result commercial banks and building societies are very reluctant to provide home loan finance to low-income communities; although some of them

have indicated that they may reach some form of agreement (to lend in a particular area) with an organisation (e.g. Mortgage Indemnity Fund) that will provide "cover" in a particular area.

What has also been revealed through literature review is that the low-income groups, which are predominantly black in South Africa, are under represented in the existing Inner-city residential areas. This can be attributed to the previous government's residential location policies and the fact that affordable Inner-city housing is still lacking in South African towns and cities. The high incidences of subletting (Table 21) and the survey respondents' general feeling that rent is excessive prove the above mentioned point. The overcrowding witnessed in the inner-city blocks researched not only confirms the acute housing shortage in the Durban Functional Region, but also shows the potential demand for inner-city accommodation by the low-income group.

The study has also revealed the benefits of being residentially located in the core of the city and the way in which the everyday life of low-income people would be improved through provision of inner-city housing stock. For an example, being situated near one's place of work and the convenience in terms of lessened traveling costs is a priority amongst low-income people. Furthermore, the conducted survey has also shown that inner-city housing would serve as some other form of relief from being forced to partake in political activity, political violence, and from the danger imposed by high incidences of criminal activity in black areas (e.g. in townships or rural areas).

Most of the people currently living in the inner-city blocks regard their present location

as only a temporary stage in residential mobility. This is indicated by the various responses with regard to preferred residential location (Table 23 & 24). One of the things that can be pointed out here is that the lack of appreciation for inner-city location is due to the existing living environment.

The most important things which respondents in the surveyed areas felt should be done is the upgrading of buildings and the improvement of their living conditions. The surveyed inner-city residents also disapproved of the vagrants "loitering" in their areas, unbearable noise levels both from the traffic and their fellow residents, overcrowding, lack of recreation areas or open space for their children, and the criminal elements lurking in the inner-city. Another big concern is the poor maintenance of the residences and dirt, which have led to the gradual emergence of inner-city residential blight. One can therefore argue that an alleviation of the problems being experienced and the provision of the lacking facilities would change the attitude of the people who are presently dissatisfied with their living environment.

Contrary to conventional thinking, the inner-city is not only attractive as a residential location choice to the upwardly mobile citizens of this country, but also to the poor who survive through informal trade, and to those seeking a temporary place of residence for a short space of time. Furthermore the survey suggests that there is a growing number of young families who form a substantial part of the inner-city residents profile. Indications are that this trend will continue to exist. This means that there should be flexibility in the provision of community and social services in inner-city residential areas.

Like in most other South African cities, land in the Durban inner city has long been characterized by inefficiency distortion and lack of equity. This is attributed to, amongst other things, enforced zoning and building codes. Bureaucracy has also led to duplication, unnecessary delays and the lack of participation of the urban poor. Its not only because the land market has failed to cater for the urban poor that the low-income resorted to squatting and backyard shacks, but also because the cost to comply with the land restrictions that existed was beyond the financial means of the urban poor.

The provision of new low-income housing development beyond white suburbs falls short of meeting the requirements of the low-income group in terms of their residential and income earnings. Since their source of income is situated within the city, it is only logical that their affordability (..or lack of..) should be accommodated through bringing them closer to facilities and cheap transport.

5.2 Recommendations

The demand for inner-city housing should be seen in the light of the total demand for housing within the DFR. It can be assumed from the survey results and from the literature reviewed that the majority of people prefer to own free standing houses.

However more importantly most people are seeking a form of living that will provide them with certain basic requirements. These are; adequacy of accommodation, privacy, security, and contact with nature. The provision of alternative form of housing should therefore meet these four criterions.

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One of the conclusions that can be drawn from the arguments which form part of the literature reviewed is that migration controls and closed-city policies are not viable planning options. It is necessary therefore that emphasis should be on proactive urban accommodating strategies. There needs to be mixed use of inner-city land, a more flexible approach to zoning practices, and the provision of essential and appropriate facilities to the inner-city community.

Planning should aim at the provision of, amongst other things, easy accessibility to opportunities such as jobs, schools, shopping, health centres, social interaction, and participation in acting. Planners and housing specialists should also take into account the diversity that exists in the population (e.g. there are temporal and permanent town dwellers). Therefore planning policy should accommodate the fact that people have different priorities. This means that planners should do more in terms of needs assessment before they start with design or other development related plans.

The reality today is that there are some South African cities which are decaying and crime ridden. Squatting, vagrancy and the invasion of parks are some of the causes of this prevailing scenario. A solution to this problem partly lies in the provision of quality residential accommodation in the inner-city. The provision of a large residential component in the city would not only make this possible but would also serve as means of revitalising the city. The vast amounts of open space available in under utilised buildings in the city can also be used to alleviate the enormous housing shortage. Local government structures should also enforce the development of inner-city land held for speculative gain.

Another option is to develop new housing prototypes for high density, low-income, inner-city housing appropriate for South African conditions. Not only because this type of housing has proven to be the most popular amongst the respondents as compared to high-rises, but also due to the fact high-rise flats are inherently expensive to build and to maintain. Furthermore, there is a lot of discomfort associated with living in high-rise dwellings, with the most concern being voiced by those with children. Once again this necessitates that low-rise, walk-up flats/apartments should be the form which low-income, inner-city housing development takes.

Another reality in South Africa is that without government assistance the low-income group cannot afford inner-city housing at the market price. There is need therefore for a policy which makes low-income, inner-city housing one of the government's obligation. Since some of people the who come and live in the city do not intend to become permanent residents, there needs to be both rent and ownership options. This initiative should be seriously considered as one of the options which the government should pursue in trying to alleviate the housing backlog, and in its endeavor to empower the low-income people socially and economically (i.e By bringing them closer to essential facilities and to economic opportunities).

The reluctance of the financial institutions to lend in the low-income sector of the population needs to be addressed through the introduction of warranty schemes similar to that of the Mortgage Indemnity Fund (MIF) (i.e whereby banks and building societies are encouraged to invest in the low-income sector through assurances that e.g. the MIF will cover any defaults in bond payments. Private sector developers could

also form part of an inner-city housing initiative whereby a joint venture between the government (local authority) and developers is formed for the purpose providing inner-city accommodation. The insistence by some of the developers that the government would have to be party that ensures beneficiaries meet their obligations would require genuine commitment on the part of the government.

Local authorities in South African cities can also use the strategy of absorbing land costs where inner-city, low-income housing is envisaged. This can be done through provision of land to a developer below the market price so as to cut development costs. The capital housing subsidy can also be utilised to accommodate the affordability levels of the low income group, in terms of bringing down the costs of acquiring or renting inner-city accommodation.

As mentioned above, this would not only serve to accommodate the affordability levels of the poor, but would also serve as an incentive to attract private sector involvement and investment in the delivery of low-cost, inner-city housing to the low income group. Whilst one can argue that there is a real risk involved in addressing housing needs of the poor (particularly with regard to inner-city housing), it is a risk worth taking, and as well as which would amount to a meaningful contribution to the social upliftment of the South African poor if it bares positive results.

Although too stringent standards can be devastating with regard to the proposed development, standards should not be reduced to such an extent that the development that takes place is devastating to the environment and the economy over

the medium to long term. Integrated urban systems should be the most pursued form of development, as opposed to ones characterised by separation, because they are more generative in terms of opportunities.

Kok and Gelderblom (1994) argue that the total needs of a community should be taken into account and that it's essential to find-out whether high-density development would be in the interest of current residents in the area under consideration. On the other hand a more creative solution should be sought by planners so as not to compel people to live in overcrowded conditions. The spreading of subletting should be monitored and controlled.

As has been evidenced in some of the surveyed inner-city blocks, the problem usually arises when the landlords fail to repair the buildings, which then start to deteriorate. As a result tenants withhold some of the payments due and on the other hand the landlord stops paying the council. The council switches off the services and from there it's a terrible circle. The culture of rent payment can be achieved through proper maintenance and good quality home environment.

It would be necessary to instill a sense of ownership to the beneficiaries of the proposed inner-city residential provision because when people have pride they take care and that has a far reaching positive effect.

It can be concluded that the inner-city will continue to attract people as a centre of development. The pursuit of a policy of inner-city residential densification would go a

long way towards making the inner-city attractive, productive and vibrant, as well as towards accommodating the continuous influx of people into the inner-city areas.'

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ALBERT PARK AND POINT ROAD AREAS: RESIDENTS QUESTIONNAIRE

A. GENERAL

1. For how long have you been living in this area? (i.e. Albert Park and Point Road areas)

2. How old are you?

15-25	
26-35	
36-45	
46-55	
56-65	

3. What is your marital status?

Single	
Married	
Divorced	
Widowed	

4. What is your educational level?

Illiterate	
Primary	
Secondary	
Post Matric	

B. SOCIAL (Residential mobility)

5. Where did you move from before you came to live in this area?

6a. Did you own or rent your previous accommodation?

Own	
Rent	

6b. Do you own or rent your present accommodation?

Own	
Rent	

6c. Which one of the above two would you prefer?

Own	
Rent	

6.d Why?

7. Why did you move into this area?

Cheap accommodation	
Needed more space	
Its closer to workplace	
Its closer to facilities	
Its conveniently located	
Other	

8. What's the condition of the dwelling unit?

Good	
Moderate	
Bad	

9. What is the source of energy?

Electricity	
Gas	
Paraffin	

10. How is the living environment in this area?

Good	
Moderate	
Bad	

11a. Is there any interaction with the surrounding community?

11b. If not, how do you think this can be encouraged?

12a. Do you like living in this area, or would you move if given the opportunity?

I like it here	
I would move	

12b. Where would you move to?

Suburb	
Township	
Rural area	
Other	

12c. Why?

C. ECONOMIC

13. What kind of occupation do you presently enjoy?

Unskilled	
Semi-skilled	
Skilled	
Professional	
Self-employed	
Unemployed	
Pensioner	
Housewife	

14. What is your monthly salary?

R 0.00-R 800.00	
R 801.00-R 1 500.00	
R 1 501.00-R 2 500.00	
R 2 501.00-R 3 500.00	

15. Is the owner/tenant male or female?

16a. How many living rooms and bedrooms does the dwelling unit has?

No. of living rooms	
No. of bedrooms	

16b. How many living rooms and bedrooms would you prefer to have?

No. of living rooms	
No. of bedrooms	

16c. Why?

17a. What kind of kitchen does the dwelling unit have?

Kitchenette	
Separate Kitchen	

17b. Which of the two would you prefer?

Kitchenette	
Separate Kitchen	

17c. Why?

18. Please fill in the following table about other individuals living with you

Relationship to you	Occupation	Monthly contribution to household expenses

19. What is your monthly rental?

20a. Would you be able to afford rent increase?

20b. Up to what amount would you be able to afford?

D. DISPLACEMENT

21. If you were to be evicted, where would you go?

22a. Do you know of any tenants that have been evicted by their landlords over the last two years?

22b. If yes, do you know why they were evicted?

22c. Do you know where evicted tenants relocated?

Suburb	
Township	
Rural area	
Other	

E. DIFFICULTY

23a. Do you have any dislikes that can be associated with living in this area?

23b. If yes, what are they?

23c. Has there been any solutions to these problems?

23d. If no, how do you think these problems can be solved?

24. Are you always able to contact your landlord when you encounter problems?

25. What is the crime level in this area?

None	
Low	
High	

26. How do you think the crime issue can be resolved?